

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8993

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S E C R E T SEOUL SECTION 1 OF 2 SEOUL 4707

EXDIS

SECTO 44

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, KS

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH ROK FONMIN

KIM YONG-SIK: KOREAN QUESTION IN THE UN

SUMMARY: THE SECRETARY MET AFTERNOON JULY 18 WITH FONMIN KIM YONG-SIK. THE DISCUSSION FOCUSED PRIMARILY ON THE HANDLING OF THE KOREAN QUESTION IN THE UNGA. THE SECRETARY AND FONMIN KIM AGREED ON A COMMON POLICY APPROACH TO THE UNGA, SPECIFICALLY FOCUSING ON QUESTION OF DUAL ADMISSION, MAINTENANCE OF THE UNC, AND UNCURK TERMINATION. END SUMMARY.

1. SECRETARY MET WITH FONMIN KIM FOR 90-MINUTE SUBSTANTIVE SESSION FOCUSING PRINCIPALLY ON HANDLING OF KOREAN QUESTION AT UN IN THE AFTERMATH OF PRESIDENT PARK'S JUNE 23 STATEMENT. SECRETARY ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR HABIB, SNEIDER, BRAY AND POLOFF O'DONOHUE. IN ADDITION TO FONMIN KIM, VICE FONMIN YUN, AMBASSADOR KIM DONG JO AND SENIOR MOFA OFFICERS WERE PRESENT.

2. IN INTRODUCTORY REMARKS FONMIN KIM SUMMARIZED NEW ROK FOREIGN POLICY WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS ABANDONMENT OLD EFFORT AT CONTAINMENT NORTH KOREA

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FOR A POLICY WHICH NOW RECOGNIZES NEW INTERNATIONAL

REALITIES. KIM SAID THAT BASIC PROBLEM WHICH FACES ROKG AND US IS HOW TO PROCEED IN HANDLING KOREAN QUESTION AT UN. INDICATED THAT THERE WERE TWO MAJOR PROBLEM AREAS WITH WHICH WE MUST DEAL: THEY ARE:

A. UNCURK DISSOLUTION, AND

B. COMMUNIST ATTEMPTS TO FORCE THROUGH A UNGA RESOLUTION CALLING FOR WITHDRAWAL US FORCES UNDER UN FLAG.

3. ON THE QUESTION OF UNCURK, KIM SAID ROK POLICY IS CLEAR. IF MAJORITY OF UN MEMBERS WISH TO TERMINATE THE COMMISSION, THE ROKG WILL ACCEPT IT. QUESTION IN THIS REGARD IS HOW DO WE PROCEED TACTICALLY WITH REGARD TO UNCURK. KIM BELIEVED THAT A RECOMMENDATION BY UNCURK ITSELF TO TERMINATE COMMISSION SHOULD NOT BE MADE IMMEDIATELY. ROKG WOULD PREFER THAT UNCURK DELAY ANY SUCH RECOMMENDATION BEYOND THE END OF JULY, PERHAPS UNTIL THE END OF AUGUST. IF UNCURK SENT IN REGULAR REPORT EARLY AUGUST, A SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT CALLING FOR TERMINATION CAN BE SUBMITTED AT A TIME CLOSER TO UNGA.

4. KIM STRESSED THAT THE BASIC PROBLEM WHICH FACES US IS QUESTION OF WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. FORCES AND UNC DISSOLUTION. SAID ESSENTIAL ELEMENT FOR ROK SECURITY IS PRESENCE OF U.S. FORCES, NOT UN FLAG. HOWEVER, UN FLAG IS "CONVENIENT" FROM ROK POINT OF VIEW. FURTHER, MAINTENANCE OF ARMISTICE AGREEMENT IN ABSENCE OF UNC IS SIGNIFICANT PROBLEM (MAC, NNSC, BASES IN JAPAN). FONMIN KIM NOTED THAT U.S. NOW HAS CHANNELS TO PEKING. IF SOME U.S.-PRC ARRANGEMENT ON ASSURING KOREAN SECURITY CAN BE MADE, ROKG WOULD CONSIDER TERMINATION OF UNC. WITHOUT SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT, ROKG WOULD HAVE THE MOST SERIOUS CONCERN. IN THAT CONTEXT, KIM NOTED THAT FORMER

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UNDER SECRETARY JOHNSON HAD INDICATED U.S. COULD USE VETO IN SECURITY COUNCIL TO PRESERVE UNC, BUT ROKG WOULD RATHER HANDLE PROBLEM IN THE UNGA.

5. IN CONCLUSION, FONMIN KIM ASKED FOR USG SUPPORT IN:

A. ASSISTING ROKG IN GETTING FRIENDLY NATIONS
TO INTRODUCE DRAFT RESOLUTION CALLING FOR DUAL
ADMISSION OF SOUTH AND NORTH, AND

B. OPPOSING ANY COMMUNIST DRAFT RESOLUTION
ON WITHDRAWAL U.S. FORCES AND TERMINATION OF UNC.

6. IN RESPONSE, SECRETARY STRESSED OUR SUPPORT FOR
PRESIDENT PARK'S FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVE AS A MOST
CONSTRUCTIVE STEP WHICH PUTS ROK IN A GOOD POSITION
INTERNATIONALLY. SECRETARY NOTED THAT THERE WAS A
GOOD DEAL OF ENTHUSIASM AMONG GOVERNMENTS FOR DEALING
WITH REALITY AND FOR DEALING WITH PROBLEMS
ON A STEP-BY-STEP BASIS AS PROPOSED BY ROKG. HE
ASSURED KIM THAT USG WILL WORK COOPERATIVELY WITH THE ROK
AND GIVE FULL SUPPORT TO ROK FOREIGN POLICY
INITIAITVE.

7. WITH REGARD UNCURK, SECRETARY NOTED THAT
WE MIGHT WISH TO PROCEED DELIBERATELY UNTIL WE SEEK WHETHER WE
CAN GET SOMETHING WORKED OUT IN EXCHANGE FOR
ITS TERMINATION. HE EXPRESSED A PREFERENCE FOR
DELAYING ANNUAL REPORT RATHER THAN LAST MINUTE
SUBMISSION OF SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT POSSIBLY UNTIL
AUGUST 15 OR THERE ABOUTS.

8. SECRETARY SAID WE ALSO OPPOSE TERMINATION OF
THE UNC AND, IN ANY EVENT, U.S. FORCES IN KOREA
WOULD, OF COURSE, REMAIN. ATTEMPT TO ELIMINATE
UNC AT THIS TIME WOULD CREATE PROBLEMS FOR UN
INCLUDING CONTINUATION ARMISTICE AGREEMENT AS
WELL AS CALL INTO QUESTION THE PAST ACTIONS OF
THE UN IN KOREA. IF THE COMMUNISTS DO TRY TO
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CONFRONT US WITH RESOLUTION ON UNC/U.S. FORCES
WITHDRAWAL, SECRETARY EXPRESSED VIEW THAT WE
SHOULD BE ABLE TO WIN IN UNGA IF WE START AT
ONCE TO GAIN SUPPORT.

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9. THE SECRETARY THOUGHT THAT THE ROK HAD A VERY STRONG POSITION IN ADVOCATING DUAL ADMISSION IN VIEW OF THE GREAT INTEREST IN, AND SUPPORT FOR, UNIVERSALITY. IN APPROACHING OTHER GOVERNMENTS ROKG SHOULD STRESS THE VERY POSITIVE NATURE OF ITS INITIATIVE, EMPHASIZING DUAL ADMISSION. IN CONTEXT OF THAT CONSTRUCTIVE, POSITIVE INITIATIVE, BOTH WE AND ROKG COULD THEN POINT OUT TO OTHERS THAT COMMUNIST SIDE MIGHT AS A TACTIC TO OPPOSE DUAL REPRESENTATION MIGHT ATTACK PRESENCE UNC AND U.S. FORCES. IN TERMS SUPPORT FOR DUAL ADMISSION WE COULD ALSO ASK OTHER GOVERNMENTS FOR SUPPORT IN RESISTING A COMMUNIST MOVE AGAINST UNC AND U.S. FORCES BY POINTING OUT PROBLEMS THIS WOULD CREATE, BOTH IN TERMS OF STABILITY IN PENINSULA AND IN TERMS OF OBSTRUCTING THE CONSTRUCTIVE ROK INITIATIVE ON DUAL ADMISSION. KIM AGREED, NOTING THIS WAS A VERY SOUND APPROACH, EMPHASIZING MOST APPEALING ASPECT OF ROK POLICY INITIATIVE.

10. VICE FONMIN YUN ASKED SECRETARY'S VIEWS ON WHAT OUR POSITION WOULD BE IF COMMUNIST SIDE ACCEPTED DUAL ADMISSION ON CONDITION UNC DISSOLVED. SECRETARY SAID HE DID NOT THINK SUCH A COMMUNIST
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INITIATIVE WAS LIKELY. HOWEVER, IT MIGHT BE MADE AND WE SHOULD MAKE PLANS TO DEAL WITH SUCH A CONTINGENCY. IF THE DEAL PROPOSED WAS DUAL ADMISSION AND ELIMINATION OF THE UNC WITH THE UNDERSTANDING U.S. FORCES WOULD REMAIN, IT

WOULD BE AN ATTRACTIVE PROPOSITION WHICH WE WOULD HAVE TO STUDY IN CLOSE CONSULTATION. HOWEVER, ANY DEAL INVOLVING WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE.

11. ON QUESTION POSSIBLE U.S. USE OF VETO IN SECURITY COUNCIL TO MAINTAIN UNC, SECRETARY NOTED THAT WE CANNOT BE SURE HOW THINGS WILL DEVELOP IN THE UN AND HE DOUBTED ISSUED WOULD COME TO SUCH A CONFRONTATION. IN GENERAL TERMS, HE NOTED USG WOULD DO WHAT IT CAN TO DEFEAT SUCH A RESOLUTION.

12. ON QUESTION PRC-USSR CONTACTS, SECRETARY SAID WE WOULD KEEP THIS IN MIND. HOWEVER, HE SAID HE WAS CONVINCED NEITHER COMMUNIST POWER HAS ANY DESIRE TO BRING ABOUT MILITARY ACTION IN KOREA NOR HAVE WE DETECTED ANY INCLINATION ON THEIR PART TO BRING ABOUT MILITARY CONFRONTATION IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD. THIS IS VERY REASSURING. HOWEVER, THE RUSSIANS AND CHINESE MIGHT CREATE POLITICAL PROBLEMS FOR US AT UN FOR PROPAGANDA PURPOSES. THE SECRETARY WAS ASKED WHETHER THE RUSSIANS AND CHINESE ACQUIESCE IN PRESENCE OF U.S. FORCES IN KOREA. THE SECRETARY SAID YES, CHOU EN-LEI HAS IMPLIED AS MUCH IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS.

13. IN SUMMARIZING RESULTS OF THEIR DISCUSSION, SECRETARY AND FONMIN KIM AGREED SPECIFICALLY ON THE FOLLOWING:

A. USG WOULD STRONGLY SUPPORT THE ROKG IN SECURING SUPPORT FOR DUAL ADMISSION OF BOTH KOREAS. IT WOULD ASSIST THE ROKG IN APPROACHING FRIENDLY NATIONS TO INTRODUCE SUCH A RESOLUTION.

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B. WE WOULD RESIST ANY PRESSURES TO TERMINATE UNC JUSTIFYING OUR POSITION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ROK'S CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSAL ON DUAL ADMISSION AND THE INSEPARABLE PROBLEMS THIS WOULD POSE IN THE ABSENCE OF OTHER ARRANGEMENTS, AND

C. WE WOULD WORK TO DELAY SUBMISSION UNCURK REPORT UNTIL MID-AUGUST, BUT WILL PROBABLY END UP WITH SUBMISSION OF REPORT RECOMMENDING UNCURK TERMINATION. UNCURK MAY POSSIBLY BE PART OF ANY PACKAGE ARRANGEMENT WE MIGHT WORK OUT.

14. OTHER SUBJECTS DISCUSSED ARE COVERED IN
SEPTTEL.
ROGERS

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